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## XIX.—*YE AND YOU IN THE KING JAMES VERSION.*<sup>1</sup>

In Morris's *Historical Outlines of English Accidence*, § 155, occurs this statement: “. . . in Old English *Ye* was always used as a nominative, and *you* as a dative or accusative. In the English Bible this distinction is very carefully observed, but in the dramatists of the Elizabethan period there is a very loose use of the two forms.” Similarly Lounsbury:<sup>2</sup> “*Ye* in the language of Chaucer invariably denotes the nominative; *you* the objective; and this distinction will still be found observed in the Authorized Version of the Bible.” Emerson:<sup>3</sup> “This is the use in Chaucer, and in the English Bible of 1611, the language of which, however, is based on the translations of earlier times.” Smith:<sup>4</sup> “This distinction is preserved in the King James Version of the Bible: *Ye* in me, and *I* in *you*; but not in Shakespeare and later writers.”<sup>5</sup>

These statements are all based on present-day prints of the Bible; for when we turn to the first edition in 1611, we find, for example, in the passage quoted by Professor

<sup>1</sup> For the privilege of examining Bibles and for other favors in the preparation of this paper, I acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. J. C. M. Hanson of the University of Chicago Library, Mr. W. N. C. Carlton of the Newberry Library, Chicago, the late Mr. T. J. Kiernan of the Harvard University Library, Mr. H. M. Lydenberg and Mr. Wilberforce Eames of the New York Public Library, and Sir Frederick Kenyon of the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the English Language*, p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> *History of the English Language*, § 381.

<sup>4</sup> *Old English Grammar*, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> Statements to the same effect are found in Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 236, and Kaluza's *Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, § 469.

Smith from John 14. 20, You in me, and I in you. Note also the following passages from the same edition:

Gen. 9. 4 But flesh with the life thereof, *which is* the blood thereof, shall you not eat.

Gen. 42. 34 then shall I know that you *are* no spies, but *that* you *are* true men.

Deut. 11. 13 if you shall hearken diligently vnto my Commandments . . .

Deut. 12. 7 and yee shall reioyce in all that you put your hand vnto, ye and your housholds, . . .

Josh. 24. 15 choose you this day whome you will serue, . . .<sup>6</sup>

Job 13. 5 O that you would altogether hold your peace, . . .

Matth. 5. 47 And if yee salute your brethren only, what do you more *then others?*

1 Cor. 15. 1 I declare vnto you the Gospel which I preached vnto you, which also you haue receiued, and wherein yee stand.

I find in the whole Bible about 3830 nominative *ye's* and 300 nominative *you's*, or over 7 per cent. of *you's*. The ratio of *you's* to *ye's* is in the Old Testament about 6 per cent., Apocrypha 35 per cent., and New Testament 5 per cent.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The first *you* in this passage is objective.

<sup>7</sup> The instances follow: Gen. 9. 4, 7; 18. 5(2), 5 marg.; 22. 5; 24. 49; 32. 19(2); 34. 10; 42. 9, 12, 34(2); 44. 23; 45. 8, 9, 13(2); 47. 24; Exod. 2. 18; 3. 18; 5. 5, 8(2), 11, 21; 8. 28; 10. 11; 12. 13, 14(2), 31; 14. 13 marg.; 16. 23; 17. 2; 30. 37; Lev. 10. 6, 7; 11. 11; 18. 24; 22. 24; Num. 10. 6, 7(2); 11. 18; 14. 41; 15. 29; 16. 3; 18. 3, 28; 34. 6, 7; Deut. 1. 10, 17(2), 19, 43, 43 marg.; 4. 2, 26; 5. 32, 33; 6. 17; 9. 23; 11. 2, 13; 12. 3(2), 7; 13. 3, 4; 20. 3; 27. 2; 29. 6; Josh. 2. 10(2); 4. 3(2), 6; 6. 18; 10. 19; 18. 3; 22. 24; 23. 8 marg.; 24. 6, 15; Judg. 2. 2; 8. 24; 9. 7; 14. 12; 21. 22; Ruth 1. 9, 11; 1 Sam. 15. 32; 17. 8; 21. 14; 25. 13; 27. 10 marg.; 2 Sam. 13. 28 marg.; 21. 4; 1 Kings 9. 6(2); 12. 6; 2 Kings 2. 3, 5; 1 Chron. 15, 12; 16. 9; 2 Chron. 13. 5, 12; 20. 20; 23. 7; 29. 11; Ezra 4. 3; Neh. 2. 20; 5. 7, 8; Job 6. 27; 12. 3, 3 marg.; 13. 5, 7; 17. 10; 18. 2; 19. 3(2); 32. 11; Ps. 14. 6; 58. 2(2); 115. 15; Prov. 4. 2; Isa. 50. 1; 58. 3; 61. 6, 7; 62. 10; 65. 18;

I have seen no full discussion of the disappearance of these nominative *you's* from modern Bibles. Scrivener<sup>8</sup> notes, "Other variations . . . . spring from grammatical inflections common in the older stages of our language, which have been gradually withdrawn from later Bibles, wholly or in part, chiefly by those painful modernizers, Dr. Paris (1762) and Dr. Blayney (1769)." Further, "The several editors, especially those of 1762 and 1769, carried out to the full at least two things on which they had set their minds: they got rid of the quaint old *moe* for *more*, and in 364<sup>9</sup> places . . . . they have altered the nominative plural *you* into *ye*, besides that Blayney makes the opposite change in *Build you* Num.

Jer. 3. 20; 7. 5; 17. 27; 23. 38; 33. 20; 42. 20 marg.; 44. 3, 23; Mal. 1. 13 marg.; 1 Esdr. 4. 22; 5. 69; 6. 4, 11; 8. 58, 85; 2 Esdr. 1. 14, 15, 17(2), 22, 26, 31; 14. 33, 34; 16, 63; Tob. 7. 3; 12. 19; 13. 6; Jud. 1. 10(2), 12; 2. 24; 7. 24(2); 8. 11, 12, 13, 14(2), 33(2), 34; 10. 9; 14. 2(2), 4, 5; Esth. 16. 22; Wisd. 6. 2, 4; Eccl. 41. 8, 9(3); 43. 30(4), 51. 23, 24(2), Baruch 4. 6, 27; 6. 23, 72; Bel. 1. 27, 27 marg; 1 Mac. 2. 33(2), 37, 64(2); 4. 18; 5. 19; 10. 26, 27; 11. 31; 12. 7, 10, 22; 15. 28, 31; 2 Mac. 7. 22, 23; 11. 19, 36; 14. 33; Matth. 5. 47; 15. 3; 21. 28; 24. 44; 27. 65; Mk. 4. 13, 24, 40; 9. 50; 11. 26; 14. 6; Lk. 11. 41, 41 marg.; 12. 5; 13. 25, 27; 22. 67, 68; Jno. 9. 27; 14. 20, 24; 15. 16; Acts 5. 28; 10, 37; 13. 41; 20.34; Rom. 1. 11; 13. 6; 14. 1; 1 Cor. 4. 15; 6. 8; 7. 5, 35; 9. 1; 10. 13; 11. 2, 17; 14. 9, 18; 15. 1, 58; 16. 3; 2 Cor. 1. 7, 11, 13(2), 14, 15; 2. 4, 8; 5. 12; 7. 3, 15; 8. 11, 13; 9. 4; 11. 1, 1 marg., 7; 12. 19; Gal. 1. 6; 3. 1; 4. 15, 17; 5. 10; Eph. 5. 22; Philip. 1. 7 marg.; Col. 2. 12; 3. 8; 4. 6; 1 Thes. 2, 11; Jas. 2. 16; 1 Pet. 4. 4, 2 Pet. 1. 4, 15; 1 Jno. 2. 13; 4. 3.

In counting the *ye's* I have omitted certain stereotyped phrases in the Psalms and The Song of the Three Children, such as "Praise ye the Lord," in which *you* never occurs.

<sup>8</sup> F. H. A. Scrivener, *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible (1611), Its Subsequent Reprints and Modern Representatives*; Cambridge Univ. Press, 1884, pp. 101 f. (A reprint of the introduction to the *Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, 1873.)

<sup>9</sup> I am unable to find so many.

32. 24; *Wash you* Isa. 1. 16; *Get you* Zech. 6. 7; *Turn you* Zech. 9. 12.”<sup>10</sup> Also, “It cannot be doubted that these two editors are the great modernizers of the diction of the version, from what it was left in the seventeenth century, to the state wherein it appears in modern Bibles.”<sup>11</sup> Dr. Paris in 1762 edited a standard edition for the Cambridge press, and Dr. Blayney edited a corresponding standard edition for the Oxford press in 1769.

Before examining the work of these editors it will be well to follow our problem through the most important editions from 1611 to 1762. There is no tendency to substitute nominative *you* for *ye* in the successive editions.<sup>12</sup> Isolated instances of the change of *you* to *ye* appear very early and reappear successively. The first (Ex. 16. 23 you will bake) is changed in the Barker black-letter 4° of 1614, and remains. Ten more scattered changes appear first in London and Cambridge ff° of 1629,<sup>13</sup> three in a Cambridge f° of 1638, two in a Cambridge 16<sup>mo</sup> of 1657, and one in a Cambridge 4° of 1675, a total of seventeen up to 1675. These changes are not in groups, are probably accidental, and continued unconsciously.

Scrivener<sup>14</sup> mentions a number of errors in Blayney’s edition of 1769, which “can be best accounted for by supposing that Blayney’s sheets were set up by Paris’s, used as copy.” On examining these errors, however, I find that many of them, perhaps the majority, are not to be laid at Dr. Paris’s door. Several appear in London ff° of 1753 and 1751, and one in particular,<sup>15</sup> which Scrivener

<sup>10</sup> P. 104.

<sup>11</sup> P. 30.

<sup>12</sup> In cases where *you* is substituted for *ye* it is a reappearance of an earlier *you* from some former edition.

<sup>13</sup> A small Roman f° has one of these, and three others that did not come down.

<sup>14</sup> Pp. 31 f.

<sup>15</sup> James 2. 16. Be ye warmed, and be ye filled.

attributes directly to Paris, appears identically in Cambridge editions of 1760, 1759, 1752, 1747, 1743, and 1683 (not in 1675).

These facts led me to question whether Paris and Blayney were chiefly responsible for the changes of *you* to *ye*, and to examine the earlier editions with regard to that. No considerable changes were made in the London and Oxford editions before 1751, and those made were mainly in the New Testament. On the other hand, I found that the first changes on a large scale appear in a Cambridge 4° of 1683. The first two instances in Genesis are changed, one other in Gen. 42. 9, the first two in Leviticus, and most of the rest from Numbers through the Old Testament. All in I Esdras are changed, but the rest of the Apocrypha neglected. The changes in the New Testament are practically complete.

John Lewis, in his *History of the English Translations of the Bible* (1739), mentions an important Cambridge f° of 1678, edited by Dr. Antony Scattergood, a Cambridge scholar. This edition is not known to be extant, but it is believed<sup>16</sup> to be represented by a Cambridge 4° of 1683. As there appears to be but one Cambridge 4° of 1683, it is probable that we are to attribute to Dr. Scattergood the first extensive changes from *you* to *ye* in our modern Bibles.

Important Cambridge editions are rare from 1683 to 1760, but examination of several 12°'s and an 8°<sup>17</sup> indicates that in the Cambridge editions the tradition of the change of *you* to *ye* was continued with constantly added

<sup>16</sup> T. Scattergood, *Dict. of National Biography*, Vol. L, p. 407.

<sup>17</sup> 1743, 1747, 1752, 1759 (12°'s), and 1760 (8°). The first four of these I have not personally examined. In these four, in the British Museum, I have had about fifty random passages examined, and the evidence consistently points in the direction indicated.

cases until it was substantially complete in 1760. The New Testament was mostly complete in 1683; the Old Testament and Apocrypha were completed later.

In the Oxford and London editions, some dozen of Dr. Scattergood's changes first appear in a 1743 Oxford  $4^{\circ}$ , 16 in a 1751 London  $f^{\circ}$ , 35 in a 1753 London  $f^{\circ}$ . In a 1761 London  $4^{\circ}$  appear 65 changes not before found in Oxford or London editions, but found in previous Cambridge editions. On the whole, then, the Cambridge editors are chiefly responsible for the change, as it did not greatly affect the Oxford and London Bibles till it was substantially completed in the Cambridge editions.

In Dr. Blayney's report to the Clarendon Press, October 25, 1769,<sup>18</sup> he says, "The editor of the two editions of the Bible [1769  $4^{\circ}$  and  $f^{\circ}$ ] lately printed at the Clarendon Press thinks it his duty, now that he has completed the whole in a course of between three and four years' close application, to make his report. . . . According to the instructions he received, the folio edition of 1611, that of 1701 [London], and two Cambridge editions of a late date, one in quarto, the other in octavo, have been carefully collated. . . . " The quarto used was that edited by Dr. Paris as a standard Cambridge edition in 1762 (printed also in folio).<sup>19</sup> In discussing Blayney's use of

<sup>18</sup> Printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1769 (Vol. xxxix, p. 517), and reprinted by Scrivener, p. 238.

<sup>19</sup> The quarto and folio were printed from the same setting up by shortening or lengthening the forms, as Blayney (in his *Report*, Scrivener, pp. 242 f.) tells us the two Oxford editions were also made. The copies of the Cambridge  $4^{\circ}$  and  $f^{\circ}$  I examined correspond page for page, errors and defective types appearing in the same places. If it is true, as stated in the British Museum folio copy, that only six copies were preserved from a fire at the book-seller's, this may account for Blayney's using the quarto. There are two folio copies in the New York Library and one in the Harvard University Library.

Paris's work in this edition, Scrivener<sup>20</sup> does not mention the octavo. Yet it appears that, at least in the change of *you* to *ye* (which Scrivener mentions only incidentally), this octavo represents a more advanced stage than Paris's work. The octavo mentioned by Blayney is probably represented in the British Museum and the New York Public Library by a Cambridge 8° in two volumes.<sup>21</sup> In this the change of *you* to *ye* is substantially completed, whereas in Paris's edition of 1762 a large part of the Old Testament is still unchanged. The editor of the 1760 8° (or some predecessor) did so thorough a piece of work that he also changed most cases of 1611 *take you, get you, etc.*, to *ye*. Paris has retained the objective form in most of these instances.

After 1760 the work left for Blayney in the matter of *you* and *ye* was very slight. He appears to have changed *you* to *ye* first only in Num. 18. 3; Tobit 13. 6; Judith 1. 10(2), 12; 2. 24 (in each of these four cases *you* is an indefinite pronoun); Bel 1. 27; 1 Mac. 15. 28, 31; and possibly 2 Cor. 8. 13.<sup>22</sup>

In three cases nominative *you* in the text escaped Blayney,<sup>23</sup> and consequently stands in our present-day Bibles:

<sup>20</sup> Pp. 29 ff.

<sup>21</sup> The Holy Bible, etc., With Apocrypha. Cambridge. Printed by Joseph Bentham, etc. 1760. 2 Vols. 8°. Price 6s unbound. The only other Cambridge octavos mentioned in the British Museum catalog, and in the catalog of the British and Foreign Bible Society, are an octavo of 1760, and two of 1765. They all appear to be substantially the same text.

<sup>22</sup> This was *ye* in the 1683 edition, but *you* in subsequent editions. It is changed to *ye* in the B. M. Cambridge 8° of 1765. It is not likely, however, that this is the octavo collated by Blayney, since it lacks the Apocrypha.

<sup>23</sup> No further changes in the use of *ye* and *you* have been made since Blayney.

Gen. 9. 7 And you, be ye fruitfull, . . .

Gen. 45. 8 So now it was not you *that* sent me hither, . . .

Job 12. 3 But I haue vnderstanding as well as you, . . .

For the first example compare Ezek. 36. 8 But ye, O mountaines of Israel, ye shall shoot forth your branches; Josh. 6. 18 And you, in any wise keepe your selues from the accursed thing; and 1 Cor. 14. 9 So likewise you, except ye vtter by the tongue words easie to be vnderstood, how shall it be knownen what is spoken? In the last two cases *you* of 1611 was changed to *ye*.<sup>24</sup> For the second case, compare Matth. 10. 20 For it is not yee that speake.<sup>25</sup> For the third, compare 1 Cor. 14. 18 I speake with tongues more then you all. Here *you* was changed to *ye*.<sup>26</sup>

Besides the 287 or more nominative *you's* in the text of 1611 there are some 13 in the margin.<sup>27</sup> Five of these were corrected by 1683, but only one of the corrections stood in later editions up to 1769. Blayney recorrected 3, and corrected 4 others, and 4 were never corrected (Gen. 18. 5; 1 Sam. 27. 10; 2 Sam. 13. 28; Job 12. 3, where *you* of the text also remains), so that 5 (the other is Luke 11.

<sup>24</sup> Expressions like Gen. 9. 7, where the Hebrew has an emphatic nominative pronoun, are rendered in 1611 in two ways; one with English pleonastic nominative, as in the examples cited; cf. also Num. 18. 6 And I, beholde, I haue taken your brethren. .; the other with *as for* + objective, as Josh. 24. 15 as for mee and my house, we will serue the LORD; Gen. 44. 17 as for you, get you vp in peace . . .; Jer. 40. 10 As for me, behold, I will dwell at Mizpah . . : but yee, gather yee wine, . . . Cf. also Luke 17. 10; 21. 31; 1 Cor. 14. 12.

<sup>25</sup> So Mark 13. 11.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Deut. 5. 14; Ezek. 42. 11; Acts 10. 47. In Job 12. 3 the Bishops' Bible has *ye*. The A. V. here follows the Geneva Bible (ed. 1602).

<sup>27</sup> In six of the cases there is no *ye* or *you* in the text; in four, *you* of the margin corresponds to *ye* of the text; in three, *you* occurs both in text and margin.

41) remain today. There are therefore in the text and margin of our present day Authorized Version 8 nominative *you's*.<sup>28</sup>

We have to deal in the Authorized Version with another apparent confusion between nominative and objective in the second person plural of the pronoun, the use of the unstressed form *ye* as an objective. This form occurs as early as Chaucer in unstressed positions.<sup>29</sup> It is frequent in the Bible of 1611, but Blayney and his predecessors have substituted *you* for it throughout.<sup>30</sup> The following are examples:

Gen. 19. 14 Vp, get yee out of this place.

Deut. 1. 40 turne ye, and take your iourney into the wildernesse.

<sup>28</sup> At least such is the case in an Oxford Bible I got in 1907. In another, which I got in 1913, without date, but probably set up within two or three years, these marginal *you's* are restored.

<sup>29</sup> Although as early as 1883 Professor Gummere (*Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, iv, p. 284) pointed out the well-known passage in the opening of *Troilus and Criseyde*, Spies (*Das englische Pronomen*, 1897) cites an apparent example in 1426 as the earliest theretofore noted,—“Gramercy God, and ye,” in which *ye* is stressed. But, though cited by the *Ox. D.*, this is, to my mind, very doubtful. It can be explained as a vocative, analogous to “Graunt mercy, leve sir,” and other 15th c. examples (see *Ox. D.*). The only other of Spies’s examples with full stress is a sheer misunderstanding of the common phrase “Saw me not with yee” (*Battle of Otterburn*, St. 39). Jespersen (*Progress in Language*, p. 254) is undoubtedly right in regarding *ye* objective as merely an unstressed form of *you*, a view that Spies appears not to recognize. Almost all of the examples in Shakespeare are unstressed, and none have full stress. In the Bible they are invariably without stress.

<sup>30</sup> Dr. Scattergood made only occasional changes of objective *ye* to *you*. He changes, for example, Isa. 30. 11 *get ye*, but leaves it in Josh. 22. 4 and Ezek. 11. 15. He retains objective *you* in such cases, contrary to some of his followers. He changed Isa. 1. 16 *wash ye* and was followed by the Cambridge editions I have seen till Paris, who has *ye*. Blayney (contrary to Scrivener’s statement, p. 456 above) followed here the Cambridge 8<sup>o</sup> and its predecessors.

Josh. 3. 12 Now therefore take yee twelue men.

Num. 32. 24 Build ye cities for your litle ones.

Isa. 32. 11 strip ye and make ye bare.<sup>31</sup>

In such instances we have to be on our guard, owing to the fact that in seventeenth-century English many verbs, transitive and intransitive, could take after them either a nominative or objective pronoun, such as *stay thou* or *stay thee*, *go thou* or *go thee* (Ezek. 21. 16).<sup>32</sup> Since *ye* and *you* were each either nominative or objective, it is difficult in many instances to know which case the translators felt, if any. *Get ye (you)* appears to be always objective. *Get thee* is frequent and *get thou* does not occur. *Get you* is much more frequent than *get ye* in the 1611 version, so that Blayney and his predecessors are consistent in changing all to *get you*.

In *choose you* (Josh. 24. 15, 22, etc.) *you* is usually objective, as in Hebrew. *Choose ye* does not occur. Since, however, *choose thou* occurs (Ezek. 21. 19), it seems likely that in 1 Sam. 17. 8 chuse you a man for you, and 1 Kings 18. 25 Chuse you one bullocke for your selues, the translators regarded the first *you* as nominative, since the Hebrew objective is expressed by an additional phrase. Blayney, however, regarded it as objective, and it so stands today.

It seems probable also that in Isa. 1. 16 Wash yee, make you cleane, the translators intended *yee* to be nominative. The intransitive verb *wash* in Hebrew is rendered simply

<sup>31</sup> In those of the examples where the English pronoun is ambiguous in case, the Hebrew has a reflexive pronoun.

<sup>32</sup> See Jespersen, *Progress in Language*, pp. 241 f. These verbs with pronouns well illustrate Tyndale's remark about the very great similarity in style between Hebrew and English. *Go thee*, and *lay thee hold* and *take thee* (2 Sam. 2. 21) all have reflexive forms in Hebrew, and are rendered literally in English by equally idiomatic forms.

*wash* in 2 Sam. 12. 20, 2 Kings 5. 10, 12, 13, though sometimes the object pronoun is added, as in Ruth 3. 3, Ezek. 23. 40. In Isa. 1. 16 the Hebrew has no object pronoun, but the verb *make clean* is reflexive; hence *you* in English.<sup>33</sup>

In the phrase *take ye (you)* Blayney's corrections are consistent according to the Hebrew. When the Hebrew has the simple verb, *take ye* of 1611 is left, as a nominative (Ex. 16. 16; 35. 5; Lev. 9. 3, etc.); when the Hebrew has an object pronoun, *take ye* of 1611 is changed to *take you* (Deut. 1. 13; Josh. 3. 12), and *take you* of 1611 of course retained.<sup>34</sup> *Build ye* he has treated in the same way. Where the Hebrew has a simple verb he retains *build ye* (1 Chron. 22. 19; Jer. 29. 5, 28), and where the Hebrew has the object pronoun, changes to *build you* (Num. 32. 24).

In the case of *turn ye (you)*, Blayney is less consistent. Though perhaps justified, on his principle of normalizing *ye* and *you*, in leaving *turn you* Num. 14. 25; Deut. 1. 7, where the Hebrew has the simple form of the verb (since the reflexive is often added in English with *turn* where the Hebrew has no reflexive, as 1 Sam. 14. 47 *turned himself*), and in changing *turne ye* Deut. 1. 40 to *turn you* (since the Hebrew has the reflexive), yet why should he change *turne ye* Zech. 9. 12 to *turn you*, but leave *turne ye* in Lev. 19. 4; 2 Kings 17. 13; Isa. 31. 6; Jer. 25. 5; Ezek. 33. 11; Joel 2. 12; Zech. 1. 3, 4, from the same Hebrew simple form of the verb?<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See note 30, last part.

<sup>34</sup> So far as I have seen, *take you* of 1611 always goes back to the reflexive form in Hebrew, while *take ye* represents both Hebrew simple verb and reflexive.

<sup>35</sup> The two principal Hebrew verbs for *turn* show the same relation to the English in this respect.

Similarly, Blayney should consistently have changed Jer. 49. 14 *Gather ye together, & come against her, . . . .* for *ye* was doubtless intended as a reflexive object. The Hebrew form is reflexive, as it is in 1 Sam. 22. 2; 2 Chron. 20. 4 *gathered themselves*; Ezek. 39. 17 *assemble your selues*. The translators were very particular in rendering the Hebrew reflexive; cf. Zeph. 2. 1 where the Hebrew reflexive and simple forms of the same verb are rendered, *Gather your selues together, yea gather together*. It is probable, therefore, that in Jer. 49. 14 we have an objective *ye* in our modern Bibles. The R. V. renders it *yourselves*.

In *abide you* (Gen. 22. 5) and *haste you* (Gen. 45. 9) Blayney follows the Hebrew, which is without reflexive, in adopting *ye* from previous Cambridge editors. But apparently he was ignorant of the Elizabethan idiom which used the reflexive after these verbs regardless of the form of the original, as in the case of *get you*. *Haste thee* in 1611 is very frequent where the Hebrew has no reflexive, and *haste thou* does not occur. That *you* is objective is also indicated by the fact that Coverdale (ed. 1535) here has *haste you*, and he does not confuse *ye* and *you*.

These facts raise the question whether it would not have been better, while modernizing the A. V. in some other respects, to have left *ye* and *you* as they were in 1611.<sup>36</sup>

*Ye* and *you* invariably represent the plural when used as the second personal pronoun. Many instances appear at first sight to contradict this; for example:

Josh. 4. 1 ff. the **LORD** spake vnto Ioshua, saying, Take you twelue men out of the people, . . . And command you them, . . . Deut. 12. 7 and *ye* shall reioyce in all that you put your hand

<sup>36</sup> This was done by Dr. Scrivener in his *Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, 1873.

vnto, ye and your houſholds, wherein the Lord thy God hath blessed thee.

Deut. 13. 5 to turne you away from the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed you out of the house of bondage, to thrust thee out of the way which the Lord thy God commanded thee to walke in.

Such instances abound, but so far as English is concerned *ye* and *you* are always plural; for the pronouns invariably correspond in number with the original.<sup>37</sup>

Many of these examples illustrate a very effective trait of biblical style. In addressing a group, the speaker appears suddenly to address himself to one person singled out from the rest. For example:

Deut. 29. 10 ff. Ye stand this day all of you before the Lord your God: your captaines of your tribes, your Elders, and your officers, with all the men of Israel, Your little ones, your wiues, and thy stranger that is in thy campe, from the hewer of thy wood, vnto the drawer of thy water: That thou shouldest enter into Couenant with the Lord thy God, and into his othe which the Lord thy God maketh with thee this day:

This is seen to advantage in the Sermon on the Mount:

Matth. 6. 1 ff. Take heed that yee doe not your almes before men, to bee ſeene of them: otherwise ye haue no reward of your father which is in heauen. Therefore, when thou doest thine almes, doe not ſound a trumpet before thee, . . . . But when thou doest almes, let not thy left hand know, what thy right doeth:

Matth. 6. 16 f. Moreouer, when yee fast, be not as the Hypocrites, . . . . But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face:

There are four instances in Judith (1. 10, 12; 2. 24) in which *you* is the singular indefinite pronoun:

<sup>37</sup> Where there is no original the contemporary idiom is observed. In the dedication to King James *you* is used as the singular, since obviously *thou* could not be used.

Jud. 1. 12 all Iudea, and all that were in Egypt, till you come to the borders of the two Seas.

This represents the Greek *ἔως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν*, Latin *usque ad veniendum*, and is rendered in the Geneva version by *till one come, unto one come, to one come*. Blayney is, so far as I know, the first editor to change these *you's* to *ye's*.

The use of *you* as a nominative in English appears to date from the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>38</sup> According to Spies,<sup>39</sup> *you* begins to predominate over *ye* about 1550. In the first half of the sixteenth century *you* and *ye* are found used indiscriminately.<sup>40</sup> As is to be expected, nominative *you* is more frequent in the spoken than in the literary dialect. The great frequency of *you* in Shakespeare well represents the situation at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In spite of its 300 nominative *you's*, therefore, the Bible is very conservative in the use of this popular form.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century we find that this conservatism is characteristic of the Bible translations. In Tyndale's New Testament I find<sup>41</sup> no nominative *you's*. The same is true of Coverdale's and the Great Bible of 1549.<sup>42</sup> There is one in Matthew's Bible (1538), a few in the Geneva of 1557, and they become frequent, though still relatively few, in the Bishops' Bible of 1568. On the other hand, the Rheims Bible of 1582 has relatively few *ye's*.

<sup>38</sup> Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, § 212.

<sup>39</sup> *Das englische Pronomen*, § 135.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Lord Berners (1532), *Chronicles of Froissart*: "Why do you thus fly away? Be you not well assured? Ye be to blame thus to fly."

<sup>41</sup> Contrary to Spies's implication, § 135.

<sup>42</sup> In these two my search was extended, but not exhaustive.

In the middle of the sixteenth century there appears a tendency to associate *ye* with Biblical and other dignified language. Perhaps this is as much a result as a cause of the conservative use in Bible versions, a desire to translate accurately doubtless being at the bottom of the matter in Tyndale and his immediate successors. For Tyndale and other men intimately associated with early Bible translations employed nominative *you* in their writings.<sup>43</sup> This difference in style is perhaps most noticeable in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI (1549). In the scriptural parts *ye* and *you* are carefully distinguished, but in the other parts nominative *you* is frequent. There is also a difference to be seen in the more and less formal passages of the non-scriptural parts. For example, the formal passage following the Creed in the Communion has *ye*, but the more personal and intimate exhortation following has *you*.<sup>44</sup>

To the question of the source of the nominative *you's* in the Authorized Version, one answer at least is definite. Of the rules laid down for the translators, the first was, "The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the *Bishops Bible*, to be followed, and as little altered as the Truth of the original will permit." The fourteenth was, "These translations to be used when they agree better with the Text than the Bishops Bible: *Tindoll's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, Geneva.*" An examination of the passages shows that none of the *you's* go back

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Tyndale, *An Answer unto Sir Thomas Mores Dialoge: "What can you saye to this?"*

"The distinction is of course not rigidly made. *Ye* frequently occurs with *you* in less formal parts. E. g. in the form of Public Baptism we find, "you heare," "ye perceyue," "doubte ye not"; and in the form of Private Baptism corresponding, "ye heare," "ye perceiue," "doubt you not."

to Tyndale, Matthew, Coverdale, or Whitechurch (Great Bible). A number of parallel passages will show at once that many of them come from the Bishops' Bible.

## BISHOPS' BIBLE.

## KING JAMES VERSION.

Ex. 12. 31 Rise vp, and geate you out from amongst my people, both you and also the chyldren of Israel.

Lev. 22. 24 Ye shal not offer vnto the LORDE that which is bruised, or crushed, or broken, or cut away, neither shall you make any offering thereof in your land.

Deut. 1. 17 Ye shal haue no respect of any person in iudgement, but you shal heare the smal aswel as the great: you shal not feare the face of any man.

Deut. 4. 26 I call heauen and earth to recorde agaynst you this day, that ye shal shortly perishe from of the lande whereunto you goe ouer Iordan to possesse it: ye shal not prolong your dayes therin, . . .

Josh. 2. 10 For we haue hearde howe the LORDE dried vp the water of the redde se before you, when you came out of Egypt, and what you dyd vnto the two kynges . . . whom ye vtterly destroyed.

Josh. 24. 15 Chose you this day whom you wyl serue, . . .

Luke 12. 5 I wyl forewarne you whom you shal feare:

Rise vp, *and* get you forth from amongst my people, both you and the children of Israel:

Ye shal not offer vnto the LORDE that which is bruised, or crushed, or broken, or cut, neither shall you make any offering thereof in your land.

Ye shall not respect persons in iudgement, *but* you shall heare the small aswell as the great: you shall not bee afraid of the face of man, . . .

I call heauen and earth to witnesse against you this day, that ye shall soone vtterly perish from off the land whereunto you goe ouer Iordan, to possesse it: yee shall not prolong *your* dayes vpon it, . . .

For wee haue heard how the LORDE dried vp the water of the red Sea for you, when you came out of Egypt, and what you did vnto the two kings . . . whom ye vtterly destroyed.

Choose you this day whome you will serue, . . .

But I will forewarne you whom you shall feare:

John 9. 27 I told you yer while and ye dyd not heare: where-  
fore woulde you heare it agayne: wyl ye also be his  
disciples?

1 Cor. 14. 9 So lykewyse you, except ye vtter woordes by  
the tongue easie to be vnderstoode, howe shal it be  
knownen what is spoken? for  
ye shal speake into the ayre.

I haue told you already, and ye  
did not heare: wherfore  
would you heare it againe?  
Will ye also be his disciples?

So likewise you, except ye vtter  
by the tongue words easie to  
be vnderstood, how shall it be  
knownen what is spoken? for  
ye shall speake into the aire.

Many instances not attributable to the Bishops' Bible can be traced directly to the Geneva version. Note the following from the Barker folio of 1602:

Gen. 22. 5 Abide you here with the asse: for I and the child will go yonder and worship, and come againe vnto you.

Job 12. 3 I haue vnderstanding as well as you, . . .

Judith 14. 2 And so soone as the morning shall appeare, and the Sunne shall come forth vpon the earth, take you euery one his weapons, and goe forth euery valiant man out of the city, and set you a captaine ouer them, as though you would goe downe into the felde toward the watch of the Assyrians, but goe not downe.

Abide you here with the asse, and I and the lad will goe yonder and worship, and come againe to you.

But I haue vnderstanding as well as you, . . .

And so soone as the morning shall appeare, and the Sunne shal come forth vpon the earth, take you euery one his weapons, and goe forth euery valiant man out of the city, & set you a captaine ouer them, as though you would goe downe into the field toward the watch of the Assyrians, but goe not downe.

About 200 of the *you's* in the Authorized Version are in passages substantially identical in phrasing with either the Bishops' Bible or the Geneva. About 87 of these *you's* are taken directly from the Bishops', and 40 from the Geneva version. That the remainder are easily accounted for by the tendency of the contemporary language is indi-

cated by the situation in the Bishops' and Geneva versions. In the Bishops' Bible of 1602 a number of *you's* occur which were *ye's* in the first edition (1568), and the same is true of the Geneva. The influence on the Authorized Version from the Bishops' Bible is most evident in the Pentateuch. From Job to the end of the Apocrypha the Geneva version is most prominent. Neither furnished many *you's* in the New Testament, the greater number coming from the Bishops'. It is perhaps significant of the translators' sense of the closer connection of the New Testament with the life of the people that here the great majority of the nominative *you's* are not derived from a definite source, and may therefore be attributed to a feeling for a slightly more familiar and popular style.

That the normalizing of *ye* and *you* has to some extent affected the style of the original version of 1611 there can be little doubt. Though perhaps it would be difficult to offer proof from particular passages, the euphony has undoubtedly been affected in places by the changes. This will not seem too slight a matter to those who appreciate the remarkable qualities of the version in this respect.

Again, the translators' use of *you* is of interest as an indication among many others of their attitude toward the popular idiom. Recent scholars have pointed out definite traits of popular style in the Bible, and this takes its place among them. We have seen a progressive tendency in the translations to approximate the popular idiom, a tendency that accounts either immediately or through previous translations for the nominative *you's* in the 1611 version. The later correctors have therefore deprived us of this element, so scattered through the Bible as to assist in keeping that nice balance between formal dignity and popular simplicity that is universally recognized in the version in other respects.

Finally, the normalization has removed an element of variety in style that is not inconsiderable. Not only in euphony, but in the avoidance of rigidity, and in the slight variations in formality, the occasional use of the more popular form plays a part. Compare, for example, in the light of contemporary usage, the tone of Ps. 24. 7 Lift vp your heads, O yee gates, with that of Gen. 24. 49 And now if you wil deale kindly and truely with my master, tell me.<sup>45</sup> The translators themselves did not intend that their style should be mechanically uniform even in matters that did not affect the sense. In *The Translators to the Reader* they say: “But, that we should expresse the same notion in the same particular word, . . . . wee thought to sauour more of curiositie then wisedome, . . . . if wee should say, as it were, vnto certaine words, Stand vp higher, haue a place in the Bible alwayes, and to others of like qualitie, Get ye hence, be banished for euer, wee might be taxed peraduenture with S. *James* his words, namely, *To be partiall in ourselues and iudges of euill thoughts.*” The seventeenth and eighteenth century correctors, admirable as their work was in many respects, said in effect to the nominative *you’s* and objective *ye’s* of the King James Version, “Get ye hence, be banished for ever,” and we have followed them ever since.

JOHN S. KENYON.

“I do not maintain that such a distinction is always made, and in such instances as this it is perhaps unconscious. But its effect is none the less real, and it is due in part at least to a sense of style; for example, in the passage from the Psalms *you* could not have been used. It seems significant that nominative *you* is most frequent in the narrative parts of the Old Testament and of the Apocrypha, and the narrative and epistolary parts of the New Testament, and rare in the Prophets and Psalms, and the book of Revelation.